

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 MBFR VIENNA 0145

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: REPORT OF AD HOC GROUP

MEETING OF JULY 5, 1974

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. AT ITS JULY 5 MEETING, UNDER UK CHAIRMANSHIP, THE AD HOC GROUP HAD A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF THE JULY 4 EASTERN PLENARY STATEMENT AND HEARD BRIEFINGS ON SEPARATE ALLIED BILATERALS WITH ROMANIAN, SOVIET AND POLISH REPS. AHG THEN DISCUSSED AND APPROVED TALKING POINTS FOR THE JULY 9 INFORMAL SESSION, AT WHICH ALLIED REPS INTEND TO INTRODUCE THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA. SEVERAL AHG REPS EXPRESSED REGRET ABOUT THE CONDITIONAL FORMULATION OF NAC GUIDANCE

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ON THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA, CONTENDING THAT IT DILUTED THE IMPACT OF THE ALLIED OFFER. DISCUSSION LED TO AHG CONSENSUS THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO FOLLOW NAC LANGUAGE CLOSELY BUT THAT WORDING OF ALLIED TALKING POINTS COULD BE MODIFIED SLIGHTLY IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN ALLIED OFFER. DURING THE DISCUSSION OF TALKING POINTS, SOME ALLIED REPS REFERRED TO THE SECRETARY'S BRIEFING TO THE NAC ON THE US/SOVIET SUMMIT; FRG REP PARTICULARLY NOTED THE SECRETARY'S REPORTED JUDGMENT THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT MOVE IN MBFR UNTIL CSCE WAS CONCLUDED. NEXT AHG MEETING SCHEDULED FOR JULY 9. END SUMMARY.

BILATERALS

2. CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) DISTRIBUTED THE TEXT OF A BILATERAL BETWEEN ROMANIAN DEPREP POPESCU AND CANADIAN DEPREP MORGAN (MBFR VIENNA 142). FRG REP (BEHREND) REPORTED ON A BILATERAL WITH ROMANIAN REP ANINOIU. HE COMMENTED THAT THE ROMANIAN REP'S PRIMARY PURPOSE WAS TO FISH FOR NEWS. ACCORDING TO BEHREND, ROMANIAN REP EXPRESSED THE OPINION THAT NOTHING WOULD HAPPEN IN THE CURRENT SESSION. ANINOIU MENTIONED THAT HE HAD EARLIER CONSIDERED THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD ACCEPT THE WESTERN PHASED APPROACH IF ALL ALLIED DIRECT PARTICIPANTS HAD, FROM THE OUTSET, GIVEN A COMMITMENT TO REDUCE. BUT THE SOVIET ATTITUDE HAD CHANGED SINCE, AND THEY WERE NOW FIRMLY DEMANDING THAT ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS MUST REDUCE FROM THE OUTSET. FRG REP TOLD ANINOIU THAT THE EASTERN FIRST STEP PROPOSAL WAS NOT ATTRACTIVE SINCE IT WAS RELATED TO THE EASTERN NOVEMBER 8 PROPOSAL. ROMANIAN REP AGREED THAT WAS SO, BUT SAID THAT THE NUMBERS WERE NEGOTIABLE AND MIGHT BE DIFFERENT FROM THE FIRST STEP OF THE ORIGINAL NOVEMBER 8 PROPOSAL.

3. US DEPREP REPORTED A JULY 3 BILATERAL WITH SOVIET DEPREP SMIRNOVSKY, IN WHICH US DEPREP POINTED TO THE APPARENT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SOVIET AND EASTERN EUROPEAN
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POSITIONS ON THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FIRST. US DEPREP TOLD SMIRNOVSKY THAT IN HIS OWN VIEW, THE SOVIETS APPEAR TO BE MORE INDULGENT ON THIS ISSUE, WHILE THE EASTERN EUROPEANS WERE MORE INSISTENT UPON OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, ESPECIALLY THE FRG, REDUCING FROM THE OUTSET. US DEPREP SAID HE HAD NOTICED THIS CHANGE OF POSITIONS AFTER THE EASTER RECESS, AND THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE CONNECTED

WITH THE APRIL 18 MEETING OF THE PACT PCC. SOVIET DEPREP DID NOT RESPOND DIRECTLY. HE SAID HE SUPPOSED PARTICIPANTS IN THE INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS WOULD HAVE TO CONTINUE WORKING ON THE PROBLEM OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED, BUT THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO GET A SOLUTION TO THIS QUESTION IN THIS FORUM WITH OTHERS PRESENT. COMMENTING TO AHG, US DEPREP INTERPRETED THIS STATEMENT AS INDIRECT CONFIRMATION OF HIS STATEMENT TO SMIRNOVSKY THAT THE EASTERN EUROPEANS WERE TAKING A HARDER LINE ON THE PHASING ISSUE THAN THE SOVIETS.

4. CANADIAN REP REPORTED A BILATERAL WITH POLISH REP STRULAK, IN WHICH STRULAK OBSERVED THAT THE PRESENT FORMAT FOR INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS WAS NOT THE BEST ONE FOR ADVANCING REAL CONCESSIONS OR FOR REACHING INITIAL AGREEMENT. CANADIAN REP SAID THAT STRULAK PRESENTED NO ALTERNATIVES, BUT SEEMED TO IMPLY THAT HE DESIRED A FORUM EVEN MORE RESTRICTED THAN THE CURRENT INFORMAL SESSION.

5. FRG REP ALSO REPORTED A CONVERSATION WITH THE POLISH REP, DURING WHICH THE FRG REP ASKED ABOUT A POINT IN THE EARLIER EASTERN SYMBOLIC REDUCTION TO THE EFFECT THAT EACH SIDE WOULD HAVE RELATIVE FREEDOM TO DETERMINE THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE REDUCTIONS ON THEIR RESPECTIVE SIDES. STRULAK EVADED A DIRECT ANSWER, BUT SAID THAT THE REDUCTIONS WOULD HAVE TO BE AGREED AND COMMUNICATED. IN RESPONSE TO FRG REP'S QUESTION AS TO WHETHER THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE AN EAST-WEST AGREEMENT ON THIS POINT, POLISH REP SIMPLY REPLIED THAT EVERYONE MUST KNOW THE OUTCOME OF REDUCTIONS.

JULY 4 PLENARY STATEMENT

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6. CHAIRMAN ASKED FOR COMMENTS ON THE JULY 4 PLENARY STATEMENT BY BULGARIAN DEP DICHEV. GREEK REP (DOUNTAS) OBSERVED THAT DICHEV'S STATEMENT REPRESENTED THE FIRST TIME THAT THE EAST HAD RAISED IN PLENARY SESSION THE POSSIBILITY OF EXPANDING NEGOTIATIONS TO OTHER REGIONS AFTER CENTRAL EUROPEAN REDUCTIONS HAD BEEN NEGOTIATED. DOUNTAS NOTED THAT THIS IDEA PREVIOUSLY HAD BEEN MENTIONED PRIVATELY BY THE BULGARIANS; HE QUERIED THE AHG AS TO THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BULGARIAN STATEMENT. ITALIAN ACTING REP (TALIANI) RESPONDED THAT THIS WAS A WELL KNOWN BULGARIAN POSITION, AND IT THEREFORE WAS NOT SURPRISING THAT DICHEV HAD REFERRED TO IT; IN FACT, SAID TALIANI, THE IDEA ALSO HAD BEEN MENTIONED IN HUNGARIAN AND ROMANIAN PLENARY STATEMENTS IN THE PAST.

NAC GUIDANCE ON "ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA

7. CHAIRMAN (UK REP ROSE) THEN RECALLED JULY 3 AHG DISCUSSION ON THE TIMELINESS OF AND LIKELY EASTERN REACTION TO USING NATO GUIDANCE ON THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA. ROSE NOTED THAT TALKING POINTS PREPARED BY THE US HAD SUGGESTED USE OF THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA AT THE JULY 9 INFORMAL MEETING. CHAIRMAN ASKED FOR GENERAL COMMENTS.

8. NEHTERLANDS REP (QUARLES) SAID HE WAS GLAD AHG NOW HAD THIS GUIDANCE IN HAND, BUT THAT THE TERMS OF THE GUIDANCE GIVEN WERE VAGUE. IF THE EXACT TEXT OF

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FROM US REP MBFR

THE GUIDANCE WERE TO BE USED AND THE EASTERN REPS SCRUTINIZED THE WORDING TOO CAREFULLY, THEY WOULD SEE THAT THE ALLIES IN EFFECT TAKE BACK MUCH OF WHAT THEY OFFER. TAKEN LITERALLY, ASSERTED QUARLES, THE GUIDANCE MEANS THAT THE ALLIES WOULD ONLY CONSIDER SUCH A COMMITMENT AFTER A FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT HAD ALREADY BEEN REACHED. QUARLES POINTED OUT THAT THIS LITERAL INTERPRETATION WOULD BE WORTH VERY LITTLE AND WAS NOT IN THE SPIRIT OF THE COMMITMENT WHICH THE ALLIES INTENDED TO GIVE. WHILE THE US DRAFT TALKING POINTS MADE THE BEST POSSIBLE USE OF THE GUIDANCE, THE NAC WORDING PRESENTED DIFFICULTIES.

9. FRG REP COMMENTED THAT, DURING SPC AND NAC DISCUSSION
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OF THE FORMULA, THE EXACT FORM OF THE COMMITMENT HAD NOT BEEN DECIDED, AND FURTHER NATO DISCUSSION OF THIS ISSUE WOULD BE NECESSARY. READING FROM INSTRUCTION, THE FRG REP SAID BONN'S POSITION WAS THAT THE COMMITMENT SHOULD BE CONNECTED IN TIMING AND SUBSTANCE WITH A US-SOVIET REDUCTION AGREEMENT. HE STATED THAT THE COMMITMENT SHOULD HAVE A COLLECTIVE CHARACTER IN ORDER TO AVOID NATIONAL SUBCEILINGS. IT WAS IMPORTANT TO KEEP THIS POINT IN MIND WHEN INTRODUCING THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS" OFFER TO THE EAST AND NOT TO TAKE POSITIONS NOW, WHICH WOULD PRECLUDE THIS OUTCOME LATER.

10. UK REP REGRETTED IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO TIGHTEN UP THE NAC LANGUAGE, FOR EXAMPLE, BY DELETING THE WORD "CONSIDER", SINCE IT WEAKENED THE VALUE OF THE OFFER. HE EXPRESSED REGRET THAT NAC HAD NOT AGREED TO THIS DELETION. UK REP AGREED WITH FRG REP THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT NOT TO SAY ANYTHING THAT WOULD PREJUDICE THE EVENTUAL FORM OF THE COMMITMENT, BUT UK REP SAID HE DID NOT NECESSARILY AGREE WITH THE FRG POSITION ON THE FORM OF THE COMMITMENT. THEREFORE, WHEN THE ALLIES DO MAKE THE OFFER TO THE EAST, THE ALLIES WOULD HAVE TO BE CAREFUL NOT TO PREJUDICE THIS QUESTION IN EITHER DIRECTION.

11. ITALIAN ACTING REP SAID HE WAS NOT UNHAPPY WITH THE NAC TEXT. ALTHOUGH THE WORDING COULD BE IMPROVED, SINCE IT WAS VAGUE, HE FELT THAT AT THIS STAGE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE ALLIES SHOULD BE VAGUE IN PRESENTING THE OFFER TO THE EAST. THE SUBSTANCE OF THE OFFER IS CONTAINED IN THE NAC LANGUAGE, AND THE MESSAGE WILL BE RECEIVED. THERE WOULD BE TIME TO SPELL THINGS OUT FURTHER IN THE FUTURE. ITALIAN ACTING REP REMARKED THAT, WHETHER IT WAS DELIBERATE ON

THE PART OF NAC OR MERELY UNFORTUNATE WORDING, THE PHRASE "IN THE EVENT" DID HAVE THE LOGICAL WEAKNESS THAT IT INDICATED THAT IT WOULD BE NECESSARY FIRST TO HAVE A FINISHED AGREEMENT BEFORE THE ALLIES WOULD EVEN CONSIDER A COMMITMENT. HE SUGGESTED THE FORMULA WOULD BE BETTER IF IT SPOKE OF BEING "IN THE CONTEXT" OF AN AGREEMENT. TALIANI THOUGHT THE CURRENT WORDING OF THE NAC GUIDANCE

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STRENGTHENED THE FRG POSITION ON THE FORM OF THE COMMITMENT SINCE THE WORDING IMPLIES THAT THE COMMITMENT SHOULD NOT BE IN A FIRST AGREEMENT, BUT SUBSEQUENT TO IT. TALIANI CONSIDERED THAT NATO HAD NOT INTENDED THIS MEANING, AND THOUGHT IT WAS BAD FOR PRESENTATIONAL PURPOSES.

12. UK REP RECALLED THAT A NUMBER OF FORMULATIONS HAD BEEN CONSIDERED DURING NATO DISCUSSIONS, INCLUDING THE PHRASE "IN THE CONTEXT OF", BUT THE ALLIES WERE STUCK WITH THE FORMULATION APPROVED BY NAC. CANADIAN REP AND US DEPREP POINTED OUT THAT NAC MESSAGE WAS GUIDANCE AND NOT A TEXT AND THAT IT WAS LEFT TO THE DISCRETION OF THE AHG HOW TO EXPRESS THE GUIDANCE. THE AHG COULD NOT ALTER THE MEANING OF THE GUIDANCE, BUT IT ALSO WAS NOT BOUND BY THE PRECISE WORDS.

13. NETHERLANDS REP REFERRED TO FRG REP'S POINT THAT THE COMMITMENT SHOULD BE A COLLECTIVE UNDERTAKING. IF, IN USING THAT TERMINOLOGY, FRG REP WAS SEEKING TO AVOID NATIONAL SUBCEILINGS, THERE WAS NO DIFFERENCE OF OPINION, AS ALL ALLIES WISH TO AVOID SUBCEILINGS. PERHAPS, IN ANSWERING EASTERN REP'S QUESTIONS, ALLIES COULD INDICATE THEIR THINKING ON THIS POINT. BUT THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IS TO GET THE MESSAGE ACROSS THAT THE ALLIES ARE WILLING TO CONSIDER A COMMITMENT. QUARLES CONTINUED THAT THE ALLIES MUST BE CAREFUL IN HOW THE OFFER IS MADE TO THE EAST. THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS" COMMITMENT IS CONNECTED WITH ALL REDUCTIONS DOWN TO THE COMMON CEILING AND, WHEN THAT POINT WAS REACHED, IT WOULD BECOME A COLLECTIVE COMMITMENT TO MAINTAIN THE COMMON CEILING. THEREFORE, IT IS NOT A COMMITMENT THAT DIRECTLY ESTABLISHED CEILINGS ON NATIONAL FORCES AT PRESENT LEVELS.

14. RESPONDING TO ITALIAN ACTING REP'S COMMENTS, FRG REP OFFERED THE CLARIFYING COMMENT THAT HIS AUTHORITIES WHO HAD PROPOSED THE "IN THE EVENT" LANGUAGE DID NOT INTERPRET THE PHRASE AS MEANING SUBSEQUENT TO A FIRST AGREEMENT.

15. US REP SAID THAT, IN MAKING THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS" OFFER TO THE EAST, THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT COMMENCE BY

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INDICATING THAT THIS IS MERELY A COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT TO REDUCE, SINCE THIS GOT INTO QUESTIONS OF FORM AND WOULD ALSO MAKE THE OFFER LESS EFFECTIVE. HOWEVER, THE ALLIES COULD INDICATE THEIR POSITION THAT THIS COMMITMENT WOULD NOT INVOLVE NATIONAL SUBCEILINGS IN REPLYING TO EASTERN REPS' QUESTION. NETHERLANDS REP SAID ALLIES SHOULD KEEP IN MIND THAT THE COMMITMENT SHOULD BE A COLLECTIVE ONE. UK REP SAID THE ALLIES MUST BE CAREFUL IN USING THE TERM "COLLECTIVE COMMITMENT". SINCE THE ULTIMATE FORM OF THE COLLECTIVE COMMITMENT

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FROM US REP MBFR

HAS NOT YET BEEN DECIDED, ALLIES SHOULD BE CAREFUL
NOT TO IMPLY THAT SUCH A DECLARATION WOULD NOT BE IN
A FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT.

16. GREEK REP REMARKED THAT VAGUENESS OF NATO GUIDANCE
WAS JUSTIFIED, IN LIGHT OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S NAC
BRIEFING ON RESULTS OF THE US/SOVIET SUMMIT, TO THE
EFFECT THAT THE RUSSIANS WANT TO SEE RESULTS FROM CSCE
BEFORE MOVING AHEAD ON MBRR.

17. CHAIRMAN THEN ASKED IF ANY REPS HAD A REPORT ON THE
SECRETARY'S COMMENTS TO NAC REGARDING CSCE. READING
FROM HIS REPORT, FRG REP RESPONDED THAT SECRETARY
KISSINGER HAD STRESSED THAT THE US HAD ADHERED TO THE
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ALLIED POSITION ON CSCE ADOPTED AT THE OTTAWA NATO
MINISTERIAL, EVEN THOUGH THE SOVIETS HAD EXERTED
SIGNIFICANT PRESSURE FOR US CONCESSIONS ON CSCE.
THE SECRETARY REPORTEDLY IDENTIFIED TWO POINTS WHICH
WOULD HAVE TO BE RESOLVED SOON. THE ALLIES HAVE TO
DECIDE WHETHER A THIRD PHASE SUMMIT LEVEL MEETING
COULD BE JUSTIFIED, AND, IF SO, NATO SHOULD DEFINE THOSE
CSCE ISSUES WHICH IT CONSIDERED WOULD BE ESSENTIAL TO
REACH THAT POINT. CONSULTATION SHOULD BE STARTED WITHIN
NATO ON THESE TWO ISSUES IMMEDIATELY. BUT, ADDED FRG
REP, THE SECRETARY STRESSED THAT THE US WILL NOT PUSH
BEYOND ALLIED CONSENSUS ON THESE ISSUES.

TALKING POINTS FOR JULY 9 INFORMAL SESSION

18. US REP DISTRIBUTED DRAFT TALKING POINTS FOR JULY
9 INFORMAL SESSION AND EXPLAINED HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT AHG
MEMBERS WERE NOW AGREED THAT ALLIES SHOULD ADVANCE THE
"ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA AT THE JULY 9 SESSION. WITH
ONLY TWO INFORMALS LEFT BEFORE THE RECESS, THIS SCHEDULE
WOULD PERMIT A FINAL INFORMAL SESSION JULY 16 TO OBTAIN
PRELIMINARY EASTERN REACTIONS. THE TALKING POINTS FIRST
REVIEW THE NEGOTIATING SITUATION AND PREVIOUS ALLIED
MOVES TOWARD MIDDLE GROUND, AND THEN ATTEMPT TO EXTRACT
FROM THE EASTERN SYMBOLIC REDUCTION AND FIRST STEP
PROPOSALS THOSE ELEMENTS OF VALUE TO THE ALLIES IN
ORDER TO TIE THE EAST DOWN ON THOSE ELEMENTS.
AFTER PROVIDING A PHOTOGRAPH OF THE CONTRASTING
POSITIONS, THE NEW GUIDANCE IS PRESENTED AS A FINAL

STEP TO BRIDGE THE REMAINING GAP.

19. THE ONLY SUBSTANTIVE EXCHANGE ON THE TALKING POINTS OCCURRED DURING DISCUSSION OF THE PARAGRAPH WHICH INTRODUCES THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA. THE ORIGINAL US DRAFT TALKING POINTS PRESENTED THE OFFER TO THE EAST BY USING THE EXACT PHRASEOLOGY OF THE NAC GUIDANCE. IN VIEW OF THE DISCUSSION REPORTED ABOVE ON THE CONDITIONAL NATURE OF THE NAC FORMULATION, AHG CONSENSUS DEVELOPED FOR PROPOSAL OF CANADIAN AND NETHERLANDS REP TO CHANGE THE SENTENCE OF THE GUIDANCE READING "THE ALLIES WOULD CONSIDER UNDERTAKING SUCH A COMMITMENT
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ONLY IN THE EVENT OF A SATISFACTORY FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT" TO READ "THE ALLIES COULD UNDERTAKE..." US REP ACCEPTED THIS CHANGE. CANADIAN REP ALSO SUGGESTED STRENGTHENING THE OFFER BY SAYING, "ALLIES ARE WILLING TO CONSIDER A COMMITMENT" INSTEAD OF "WOULD BE WILLING". CHAIRMAN SAID ALLIES MUST USE THE CONDITIONAL TENSE, SINCE "ONLY IN THE EVENT OF A FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT" WOULD ALLIES UNDERTAKE SUCH A COMMITMENT. NETHERLANDS REP POINTED OUT THAT THE ALLIES ALREADY HAVE EXPRESSED READINESS TO CONSIDER, REPEAT CONSIDER, SUCH A COMMITMENT; MOREOVER, THE CONDITIONS OF THE ALLIED COMMITMENT ARE CLEARLY EXPRESSED IN THE TALKING POINTS PARAGRAPH. AFTER FURTHER DISCUSSION, AHG AGREED TO CANADIAN REP'S PROPOSED MODIFICATION IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN THE EFFECT OF THE OFFER. AFTER OTHER MINOR EDITORIAL CHANGES, AHG APPROVED DRAFT TALKING POINTS.

20. CHAIRMAN DESIGNATED US REP, US DEPREP, NETHERLANDS REP AND UK REP AS PARTICIPANTS IN JULY 9 INFORMAL. US REP REQUESTED, AND AHG AGREED, TO REQUEST EAST TO HOLD NEXT INFORMAL SESSION ON JULY 10 INSTEAD OF JULY 9 TO AVOID CONFLICT WITH AN EAST-WEST HEADS OF DELEGATION SOCIAL EVENT. AHG ALSO AGREED THAT REPORTED EASTERN WISH TO MOVE UP THE DATE FOR JULY 18 FINAL PLENARY SHOULD BE RESISTED IF RAISED BY THE EAST.

NEXT AHG MEETING

21. NEXT AHG MEETING IS SCHEDULED FOR TUESDAY, JULY 9, AT WHICH TIME POSSIBLE EASTERN QUESTIONS AND ALLIED ANSWERS RELATED TO AHG "ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA WILL BE CONSIDERED. RESOR

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